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C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 12432 COMBINED SECTION

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EO 12065: RDS 1/4 (12/2101 (MEEHAN, FRANCIS.) DR-M

TAGS: MPOL ELAB ECON PGOV PEPR PINS PL UR

SUBJ: MEETING WITH PRIMATE GLEMP

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE PRIMATE WAS NOT ENCOURAGING WHEN I CALLED ON HIM MONDAY AFTERNOON. HE GAVE THE REGIME CREDIT FOR WANTING TO GET TALKS UNDER WAY, BUT SAID IT HAS NO IDEA OF HOW TO INITIATE THE PROCESS. WALESA WAS ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO NEGOTIATIONS BUT, GLEMP SAID, HE WOULD OBEY THE CHURCH ON THIS POINT. GLEMP MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE CHURCH IS ALREADY MEDIATING, BUT STRESSED HOW DIFFICULT IT WAS TO BRING TH PARTIES TOGETHER. HE THOUGHT MARTIAL LAW WOULD LAST UNTIL SPRING. HE ASSUMED THE REGIME WOULD BE ABLE TO ASSERT FULL CONTROL OVER THE COUNTRY, AND SAID THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD COME IN IF IT DID NOT. HE THOUGHT THAT UNLIKELY, HOWEVER, REMARKING THAT JARUZELSKI'S GOVERNMENT IS TOUGHT. THE PRIMATE'S MOOD SEEMED CURIOUSLY SERENE. END SUMMARY.

3. I OPENED BY ASKING THE PRIMATE IF HE SAW ANY CHANCE OF RESTORING THE PRE-MARTIAL LAW SITUATION. THROUGH THE COOPERATION OF THE CHURCH, THE GOVERNMENT AND

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THE UNION. THE PRIMATE REPLIED THAT HE COULD SAY NOTHING CERTAIN, THAT OBVIOUSLY THE SITUATION WAS VERY DIFFICULT. HIS HOPE LIES IN HIS CONTINUED ATTEMPTS TO MEDIATE BETWEEN SOLIDARITY AND THE GOVERNMENT. HE SAID HE HAS PROPOSED TO THE GOVERNMENT THE RELEASE OF LECH WALESZA AND THE SOLIDARITY PRESIDUM AND THAT WITH THEIR FREEDOM TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES COULD BEGIN. THE PRIMATE ADMITTED THAT WALESZA HIMSELF IS NOT ENTHUSIASTIC BUT THAT HE WOULD OBEY CHURCH ORDERS TO NEGOTIATE. ACCORDING TO THE PRIMATE, THE MOST DIFFICULT ASPECT IS THAT SOLIDARITY MUST CHANGE AND BECOME A TRADITIONAL UNION OR IT WOULD GO UNDER.

4. I ASKED IF THE PRIMATE'S MAIN POINTS WERE THAT WALESZA WAS HAVING DIFFICULTY DEVELOPING A NEW CONCEPT OF THE UNION'S ROLE AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT LACKED A FRAMEWORK FOR COOPERATION. THE PRIMATE AGREED THIS WAS AN ACCURATE READING OF HIS POINTS. HE SAID THE GOVERNMENT IS INTERESTED IN HAVING AN AGREEMENT BUT THE REAL QUESTION WAS WHETHER SOLIDARITY IS WILLING TO COME TO ANY ARRANGEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

5. THE PRIMATE NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN BRUTAL INTERVENTION, AT WHICH POINT I ASKED WHETHER HE THOUGHT THAT AFTER THE DEATHS IN KATOWICE IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR SOLIDARITY TO ACCEPT ANY ARRANGEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT. THE PRIMATE REPLIED THAT OF COURSE IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT. I QUERIED WHETHER THERE WERE ONLY SEVEN KILLED IN KATOWICE AS THE OFFICIAL MEDIA HAS REPORTED. THE PRIMATE RESPONDED, "YES, JUST SEVEN," ALTHOUGH THERE ARE MANY, MANY WOUNDED.

6. I ASKED THE PRIMATE IF HE THOUGHT THE GOVERNMENT WAS REALLY TRYING TO WORK OUT A CONCEPT OF COOPERATION. THE PRIMATE SAID THE GOVERNMENT HAS A CONCEPT UNDER WHICH SOLIDARITY SHOULD BE MERELY A UNION, SUBORDINATE TO THE GOVERNMENT. SOLIDARITY DOES NOT WANT THAT. WHEN I ASKED WHETHER HE WAS SAYING THAT SOLIDARITY REPRESENTS THE PRINCIPAL BARRIER TO REACHING SOME UNDERSTANDING, THE PRIMATE ANSWERED THAT WALESZA WOULD SPEAK WITH THE GOVERNMENT BUT INSISTED ON THE SUPPORT OF HIS LONG-TIME ADVISORS LIKE GEREMEKAND MAZOWIECKI. THE PRIMATE ADDED HE HAD LITTLE HOPE OF BRINGING THE TWO SIDES TOGETHER.

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7. I ASKED IF THE PRIMATE COULD TELL ME SOMETHING ABOUT THE STATE OF WALESA'S HEALTH. HE SAID WALESA IS SUFFERING HEADACKES BUT REMAINS IN REASONABLY GOOD HEALTH.

8. I ASKED ABOUT THE DURATION OF MARTIAL LAW. THE PRIMATE SAID HE EXPECTED IT WOULD CONTINUE FOR A LONG TIME, AT LEAST UNTIL SPRING.

8. I TOLD THE PRIMATE THAT DURING MY WASHINGTON STAY I HAD FOUND GREAT SYMPATHY FOR ASSISTANCE TO POLAND IN THE CONGRESS, BUT AFTER MARTIAL LAW WAS IMPOSED ON THE 13TH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE POLISH GOVERNMENT BECAME IMPOSSIBLE POLITICALLY. THE PRIMATE NOTED THAT POLAND WOULD HAVE TO COUNT MORE HEAVILY ON AID FROM THE USSR IF AID FROM THE WEST WERE CURTAILED.

9. I TOLD THE PRIMATE I HAD READ HIS STATEMENT OF THE 13TH, THE EPISCOPATE COMMUNIQUE OF THE 15TH AND THE PASTORAL LETTER OF THE 17TH. I ASKED IF THEY WERE EFFECTIVE IN CALMING THE SITUATION. THE PRIMATE CLAIMED THAT HIS INITIAL INTENT WAS TO CALM THE POPULATIN AND TO WARN THEM AGAINST SHEDDING BLOOD. THE GOVERNMENT FELT THAT THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE 15TH WAS TOO TOUGH AND ASKED THAT IT NOT BE PUBLISHED. THE PRIMATE SAID HE WITHHELD THE STATEMENT AFTER THE DEATHS IN KATOWICE. THIS COMMUNIQUE, HOWEVER, DID GET OUT AND WAS IN FACT READ FROM MANY PULPITS.

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10. I THEN INQUIRED ABOUT THE VISIT OF ARCHBISHOP POGGI. THE PRIMATE SAID THE VATICAN EMISSARY HAD ALREADY MET WITH GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES AND OTHERS AND WILL BE MEETING AGAIN ON WEDNESDAY. HE ADDED THAT HE, HIMSELF, HAD ALREADY MET WITH POGGI. THE PRIMATE ALSO CONFIRMED THE VISIT OF BISHOP DABROWSKI TO ROME, EXPLAINING THAT DABROWSKI ALREADY HAD HIS PASSPORT FOR THE TRIP BEFORE THE POGGI VISIT WAS ANNOUNCED.

11. RETURNING TO WALESA, I ASKED IF THE REGIME MIGHT SET HIM AND OTHERS FREE AS PART OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE UNION. THE PRIMATE REPLIED, "YES, THAT'S POSSIBLE." I SAID THE GOVERNMENT OFTEN TALKS ABOUT

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CONSENSUS INCLUDING A ROLE FOR SOLIDARITY, AND AFFIRMS THERE CAN BE NO GOING BACK TO THE PRE-AUGUST 1980 SYSTEM. SOME PEOPLE REGARDED THESE AS MERELY PROPAGANDA STATEMENTS. I SAID: CAN WE ACCEPT THEM AT FACE VALUE? THE PRIMATE RESPONDED THAT THERE WAS A LITTLE TRUTH IN WHAT THE REGIME WAS SAYING, BUT THE CRUX OF THE MATTER IS THAT THE PARTY, NOT SOLIDARITY, MUST BE THE BEARER OF REFORMS. THE REFORMS, HE SAID, MUST BE CARRIED OUT ACCORDING TO THE PARTY'S OWN LIGHTS AND THE PARTY IS WEAK.

12. I ASKED IF IT WERE POSSIBLE TO GET THE POLISH LABOR FORCE BACK TO WORK AND PREVENT FURTHER ECONOMIC DECLINE. THE PRIMATE SAID THAT THE ECONOMY WOULD IMPROVE FOR THE PARTY WOULD NO LONGER UPSET THE ECONOMY BY PROVOKING STRIKES.

13. I ASKED IF THE PARTY WERE NOW PLAYING AN IMPORTANT ROLE. HE SAID THAT PARTY ACTIVITY IS LIMITED BUT THAT JARUZELSKI, HIMSELF, TAKES CARE OF THE PARTY'S INTERESTS. OFFICIALLY, EXPLAINED THE PRIMATE, THE PARTY HAS NO VOICE BUT ITS POLICIES ARE CONTINUED. WHEN I SAID THAT THE ACCENT WAS ON THE MILITARY AND AWAY FROM THE PARTY, THE PRIMATE REPLIED THAT THERE ARE NO "NON-PARTY MEMBERS AMONG THE GENERALS." HE ADDED THAT BARCIKOWSKI CONTINUES TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE BUT SAID ULSZONSKI AND GRABSKI ARE QUIETER THESE DAYS.

14. I ASKED IF THE PRIMATE'S FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT HAD BEEN CURTAILED. HE SAID THE POLICE CHECKED HIS CAR REGISTRATION AND PERSONAL DOCUMENTS AS THEY DID EVERYONE ELSE'S BUT THAT HE WAS FREE TO TRAVEL.

15. I ASKED IF ANY PRIESTS HAD BEEN ARRESTED OTHER THAN THE FOUR THE PRIMATE REPORTED WHEN HE TALKED WITH THE CHARGE A WEEK AGO. HE SAID THAT THE FOUR ARRESTED PRIESTS WERE SCHEDULED TO BE RELEASED TODAY BUT HE HAD NO FURTHER DETAILS AT THIS TIME.

16. WHEN I ASKED ABOUT HIS CONTACT WITH THE GOVERNMENT, THE PRIMATE SAID: "I REALLY DON'T TALK TO THEM." HE DID SAY, HOWEVER, THAT HE HAD MET WITH BARCIKOWSKI ONLY YESTERDAY, DEC. 20. HE ADDED THAT BISHOP DABROWSKI AND FATHER ORSZULIK

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DO MEET WITH GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES REGULARLY.

17. I ASKED IF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT COULD CONSOLIDATE ITS CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY OR IF THERE WERE A DANGER THINGS MIGHT GET OUT OF HAND. THE PRIMATE REPLIED THAT IF THE MILITARY WERE UNABLE TO CONTROL THE SITUATION, THAT COULD MEAN THE RUSSIANS WOULD COME IN AND TIMES WOULD BE VERY HARD INDEED. HE SAID HE THOUGHT THIS POSSIBILITY UNLIKELY FOR THIS WAS A TOUGH REGIME.

18. COMMENT: WHAT THE PRIMATE HAD TO SAY ON THE POLITICAL SIDE WAS NOT RPT NOT ENCOURAGING. HE GAVE THE REGIME CREDIT FOR AT LEAST WANTING TO GET TALKS GOING WITH SOLIDARITY, IN ITS OWN INTEREST, BUT STRESSED THAT IT HAD ABSOLUTELY NO IDEA OF HOW TO DO IT. HE DESCRIBED WALESAS AS AMENABLE TO CHURCH GUIDANCE, BUT FOR NOW AS BEING COMPLETELY HARD-NOSED, UNWILLING SO FAR EVEN TO LOOK AT THE REGIME'S PROPOSALS. ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT SPECIFIC ON HOW THE CHURCH WOULD CARRY OUT ITS ROLE, IT CAME OUT CLEARLY THAT IT IS ALREADY ACTING AS A MEDIATOR. BUT, HE STRESSED REPEATEDLY, IT IS AN INCREDIBLY DIFFICULT TASK TO BRING THE OTHER TWO ELEMENTS WITHIN SPEAKING RANGE OF EACH OTHER.

19. IT SEEMS HARD TO BELIEVE, BUT I FOUND GLEMP SEEMINGLY IN A MORE RELAXED MOOD THAN ON MY CALL IN LATE NOVEMBER (WARSAW 11480). THERE WAS NOTHING IN HIS MANNER SUGGESTING NATIONAL TRAGEDY, GREAT ISSUES TO BE FACED, GREAT DECISIONS TO BE TAKEN. HE TREATED THE KATOWICE DEATHS IN A PERFUNCTORY, UNEMOTIONAL WAY. THE MAIN POLITICAL POINTS WITH HIM SEEMED TO BE TO KEEP THE PEACE INTERNALLY AND TO KEEP THE RUSSIANS OUT.

20. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT AS REQUIRED.
MEEHAN

END OF MESSAGE

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